SOUTH VIET NAM In Struggle

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CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

SVN NFL Chairman Nguyen Huu Tho's answers to Hanoi's **Thong Nhat** *magazine*

South Vietnamese people's present fundamental tasks

Recently, Thong Nhat, *a magazine published in Hanoi has cabled questions to Chairman Nguyen Huu Tho of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and Advisory Council to the Republic of South Viet Nam Provisional Revolutionary Government, on the latter's 4th founding anniversary. Following are Chairman Nguyen Huu Tho's answers to* Thong Nhat *questions* — Ed.

QUESTION: Mr Chairman, please let us know your appraisal of the present conjuncture in South Viet Nam.

ANSWER: It can be put in a nutshell as follows: Since the signing of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, the US and the Saigon administration have been increasingly weakened and isolated, in the face of accumulating difficulties. They have left no stone unturned to undermine the Paris Agreement, peace, independence, democracy and national concord, in order to prolong the partition of the country and preserve US neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam. As a result of such schemes and deeds of foreign warlike forces and internal fascist militarist elements, genuine peace has not been restored in South Viet Nam and the national liberation movement of its people has been going on. There are still many difficulties and complications in store for it. But a new complexion has been put on this legitimate effort. At present our posture is quite firm and strong, thanks to our whole people's sense of solidarity, powerful armed forces, highly trusted government, extensive liberated areas which have been ceaselessly consolidating and expanding. In addition to its righteousness, our cause has been juridically strengthened by the Paris Agreement. The entire South Vietnamese people are animated with a single purpose and their potentialities enhanced by the wholehearted co-operation of their Northern fellow-countrymen and increased solidarity of the other Indochinese peoples and intensified unqualified support of the growing numbers of our friends in the world.

Such conditions are eminently favourable to the advance of our revolution toward more substantial gains.

QUESTION: *What are the present fundamental tasks of the South Vietnamese people, the National Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government?*

ANSWER: They are: Strengthen our unity, follow up our successes, keep up our revolutionary spirit, uphold the "peace, independence, democracy, national concord and the people's welfare" standard, resolutely and persistingly struggle for the strict and full implementation of the Paris Agreement, defend and build the liberated areas, develop the revolutionary forces in an all-round manner and eventually build a peaceful, independent, democratic South Viet Nam and ultimately achieve peaceful national reunification.

After more than 30 gruelling years of war, the South Vietnamese people badly need peace to close the wounds of war, and reconstruct their country. And lasting and stable peace can only be achieved on the basis of independence, freedom, democracy and national concord, with unity and national reconciliation and concord as decisive factors. The NFL and PRG national concord line is the primordial short term and long range policy which is to take South Viet Nam into the new stage of development, that of mutual love, family reunion, North-South harmony and national prosperity.

QUESTION: *Mr Chairman, what is the NFL, PRG and South Vietnamese people's most important and pressing job now?*

ANSWER: It is to strive for the achievement of genuine peace, for its stable and durable preservation, and for the strict implementation of all the provisions of the Paris Agreement. The NFL and PRG are resolved to mobilize the South Vietnamese people and armed forces to this effect, and to demand the same from the US and Saigon side, particularly their observance and enforcement of the cease-fire, Saigon release of all political prisoners, ensurance of all the democratic liberties of the people, cessation of all terror, reprisals and discrimination against those who have collaborated with either side, meaningful negotiations in the spirit of national reconciliation and concord on the eventual holding of really democratic and free election under international supervision to make it possible for the South Vietnamese to shape their own political future.

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"I can state unequivocally that there are political prisoners in Saigon's jails and in jails throughout the provinces (in South Viet Nam)."

This was asserted by Bishop Thomas J. Gumbleton, auxiliary bishop of the Detroit archdiocese, who had spent Easter Week visiting political prisoners and their relatives in South Viet Nam.

In an article entitled "Jails hold political prisoners" and carried in the American paper *National Catholic Reporter* on May 11 last, Bishop Thomas J. Gumbleton wrote :

"They are in jail not for any crime, but simply because they are in political opposition to the present government. The proof is overwhelming. And it is clear that these prisoners are subject to inhumane treatment, including deliberate and prolonged torture. I do not make that statement lightly.

I will never forget the experience of meeting some young men who had just recently been released. One day we met three of the members of the young christian workers. We were gathered in a small meeting room when two of them came in. Both were still in a very weakened condition. One of them was able to walk only quite slowly. A few minutes later, the third young man appeared. I shall never forget that moment when he came into the room. None of us knew what to say. He could no longer walk. He edged along in painfully slow movements, bent over in a sort of squatting posture. It was a pitiful sight. Here was a young man who, before his imprisonment, was vigorously healthy and active. Now he was barely able to move. None of these three had ever been convicted of any crimes, and yet they had been held in prison and cruelly mistreated. They never received a court trial. They had been imprisoned by administrative decree for 'disturbing the public order'—which can mean anything the president wants it to mean...

There were others just as tragic, just as unforgettable, just as helpless. In the village of Duc Hoa, about 30 miles outside Saigon, we met four political prisoners who had recently been released. None could walk. One had spent six years in a tiger cage. Most of the time shackled with irons on his arms and legs. All of them had internal injuries from beating their bodies.

'Village people among poorest' had deteriorated because they had been severely underfed. And even now, after their release, they live in conditions which are dehumanizing.

THERE ARE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SAIGON'S JAILS

While we were visiting these men, one of the prisoners who was accompanying us was interrogated by the local secret police. This could mean that some retaliation will be inflicted on these men. They were aware of this, but their plight is so desperate that they were glad to see us and to ask us to make some effort to awaken public concern about them.

We visited another village and discovered that this fear of retaliation was not unfounded. There were five men in this village whom we were to visit. But when we got there, we found the people of the village quite upset—and not very willing to see us, it turned out that three of these men have just been taken away again by the secret police. The other two were staying out of sight. The people asked us to leave as quicly as we could. Their fear and complete helplessness in the face of this kind of injustice made a deep impact on me".

Relating his meeting with families of those still in prison, the Bishop wrote :

"The next day I went to homes where wives, mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters waited and suffered for loved ones in prison... Their first homes we visited were those of the parents of the five leaders of the young christian workers who had been jailed during the night of April 30-May 1, 1972, just about one year ago. They have never been tried or convicted of any crime. Their 'crime' evidently was joining in a movement for peace in opposition to the military policies of the government..."

The Bishop went on :

"Another time we visited the family of one of the most famous of the political prisoners, Mme Ngo Ba Thanh. She is an internationally known jurist and is qualified as professor of international law in three languages—French, Spanish and English. She has earned a Doctorate in law from the University of Paris, a Doctorate in law from the University of Barcelona, and Master's Degree in comparative law from Columbia University in New York.

We visited her husband and her 19 year-old daughter. Her husband has been unable to learn anything about his wife for several weeks. On the last visiting day, he was not allowed to see her. He was told she was too weak to see anyone, that she was in the hospital, but they did not tell him where."

Noting that testimony conflicts with Nguyen Van Thieu's allegation, the Bishop wrote :

"Of course, all of this testimony from priests, prisoners and the families of prisoners was in direct contradiction to the statements made by President Thieu in his recent trip abroad. In Rome he visited Pope Paul and told newsmen afterward about his unambiguous declaration to the Pope that there are no political prisoners in Viet Nam. He has repeated this declaration on many occasions.

But I saw documents, presented to me by the parents of the young christian workers, which carried on them an official notation indicating that their son was classified as a political prisoner. These documents are the official permission the parents received to visit in the prison.

I should remark that on the most recent documents the notation about the classification of the prisoner as 'political' has been removed. This corresponds with the charge we heard expressed often that the government is trying to cover up the existence of political prisoners. The prisoners themselves told us that they were now being mixed in with those who were in prison because they had been convicted of crime. Previously, political prisoners were kept apart from others in the jails.

President Thieu also indicated when he visited in the United States that he had nothing to hide in the government's prisons. He publicly stated that he would welcome anyone who wanted to visit the prisons".

The Bishop concluded : "I will never forget the pleas of everyone I met especially the prisoners' families and the released prisoners — to publicize what is happening to them. Their only hope for some relief is that enough people will come to know about them and bring about some kind of public pressure. It is necessary that large numbers of people join in the effort to bring justice and freedom to these people."

Saigon must end at once its horrors

SINCE the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam came into force, the Saigon administration has not strictly implemented it and its Protocols' provisions on the return of captured military and civilian personnel. It has even created many difficulties and brazenly wrecked the release plans agreed upon at the central Two-Party Joint Military Commission's meetings. It has evenly refused to receive its civilian detainees returned by the RSVN PRG. It has also continued to arrest and keep in custody a number of those favouring peace and national concord.

Meanwhile, it has carried on its secret liquidation of political prisoners. It has ordered its henchmen to feverishly step up their brutalities thereby seriously endangering the life of South Vietnamese patriots and peace-lovers still kept in US-Thieu prisons.

On May 25, 1973, the SVN Committee for the release of patriots and peace lovers still detained by the Saigon administration made public the following initial figures: "On February 9, 1973, the Saigon administration took to unknown destinations 143 prisoners from Kien Phong jail. On the night of February 14, 1973, after torturing to death four prisoners in Ben Tre jail, they threw their corpses at the Tan Thanh crossroad. In early March, 1973 a Thieu agent Hoang Van Be shot dead 17 detainees right in Bien Hoa prison. Before the cease-fire, there were 400 political detainees in Bang Ky prison (Gia Dinh province) but on March 20, 1973 there remained only 30. On February 15, 1973, 103 political prisoners were moved from Nha Trang to Con Dao (Con Son island), and 182 others transfered from that island to the mainland to be dispersed in "strategic hamlets" in Bien Hoa, Long An, Binh Duong, Hau Nghia, Long Khanh, My Tho, Ba Ria, Vinh Long, Ben Tre; on March 15, 1973, a number of them were taken to unknown destinations. In early March 1973, the Saigon administration brought 124 political detainees from Con Dao to Bien Hoa jail to torture and secretly kill them. Between the Paris Agreement's coming into force and mid-March 1973, a total of 2,400 detainees in Tan Hiep jail and 18,000 others in different prisons in West Nam Bo (SVN proper) were reported missing.

In late May 1973, the Saigon administration shifted prisoners from Con Dao to Tan Hiep jail and scheme to move hundreds of others from the same prison island and Bien Hoa into jails of several provinces.

In Con Dao prison are still detained at Ward 11 of Camp 2 over 30 persons belonging to the "condemned" category including Le Hong Tu, Nguyen Van Tam (from Saigon), Vo Gioi (from Quang Nam), Mai Tan Hoang (from Hue), Dinh Bay (from Quang Ngai), Pham Ngoc Chau (from Phu Yen), Vo Thanh Tra (from Binh Dinh), Tran Van Khiem (from Binh Thuan), Phan Van Dan (from Bien Hoa), Le Van Hai (from Vinh Long), Pham Ngoc Que (from Soc Trang), Thanh Hoa (from Binh Long). In a stone underground at the same camp, 30 other prisoners are chained including Le Quang Vinh and Trung Tin...

At Camp 4, there was a big number of detainees from Thua Thien — Hue, 40 of them including Professors Tran Ngoc Lien, Ha Thuc Tu, Thuy Le Chieng... were moved from Phu Thua prison on May 11, 1972. On Re island, detainees included a number of Saigon students such as Lam Thanh Anh, Ha Dinh Nguyen, Nguyen Truong Con, Nguyen Van Nam, Le Ton Anh, Nguyen Tan, Hoang Son...

At Camp 6, students Tran Hoa, Le Khanh were among those subject to solitary confinement, some of them like Qua had been detained for nearly 20 years now.

At Chi Hoa jail, in Ward 3F1, Section FG alone, are held some 70 persons including Nguyen Van Hien, Nguyen Hien, Lam Ha Tich.

Those are but a number of typical cases in various detention places at Con Dao and Chi Hoa jails. As everybody knows, there exist now in South Viet Nam over 1,000 prisons where more than 200,000 patriots and peace-lovers are being detained, in serious danger of their life.

The Saigon administration has also listed political prisoners as common law ones. On February 15, 1973, they announced the "release" of 103 political internees in Khanh Hoa jail but claiming they were common offenders, but on Feb. 16, 1973, they deported the said 103 prisoners to Con Dao jail.

Moreover, the Saigon administration has also been trumpetting "releases", but in reality, they have secretly liquidated the prisoners. Following are some typical cases: on the night of April 15, 1973, 25 political prisoners were disposed of on the Ben Keo River bank (Long Yen hamlet, Long Thanh village, Phu Khuong district, Tay Ninh province). On February 19 1973, 5 others were similarly slain, only one of whose, named Ha, escaped.

The Saigon administration has also contrived its "open arm" trick not to return to the RSVN PRG a large number of prisoners including 700 women in Camp 4 of Con Dao prison, 103 others at Ward 6 of Quang Ngai prison and many inmates in Tan Hiep, Chien Ham (Hue), Da Nang and Nha Trang prisons.

It has forced a number of detainees to sign prepared "open arm" requests, and victimized or made away with those daring to refuse.

All the above-said has made clear to public opinion in South Viet Nam its connection with the US deliberate violations of the Paris Agreement and US hand in the criminal manoeuvres against the South Vietnamese people's earnest aspirations for peace and national concord. The South Vietnamese strongly denounce to public opinion at home and abroad the US and the Saigon administration's dark design and heinous secret murders. They demand that the latter strictly implement the provisions of the Paris Agreement on VN, put an immediate end to secret killings of political prisoners and hand over all the patriots and peace-lovers still detained by them. The Saigon administration cannot justify with absurd pretexts the pursuance of its atrocities.

Elections on the fascists' pattern

AFTER Nguyen Luu Vien had put forth Saigon's "draft accord" at the Consultative Conference between the two South Vietnamese parties in Paris, the propaganda machine of the Saigon administration set ballyhooing that Nguyen Van Thieu had agreed to hold elections by "universal and secret ballot" to "choose a body representative of the South Vietnamese people." At Vung Tau, Thieu went so far as to declare he would "bow to any decision taken by the National Assembly so elected on the country's future regime..." (*AFP*, May 1, 1973). Following this stunt, the Saigon administration immediately staged "elections of rural councils" at Go Cong, Quang Tin and other localities.

These frenzied activities of Thieu are aimed at making public opinion think that he also respects the people's right to self-determination, that he is working for the "democratization" of South Viet Nam. But our people never forget his criminal betrayal of the country and his fascist infringements on the fundamental rights of the South Vietnamese people and his serious and systematic violations of the Paris Agreement.

All the Vietnamese people and progressive people in the world including those in the US are aware that, while millions of people in South Viet Nam shed their blood in the fight against US aggression for national independence and freedom, Nguyen Van Thieu, clinging to the Americans, frenziedly ordered the arrest and murder even of old people, women and children. After the signing of the Paris Agreement, he has stepped up terror and poured tens of thousands of tons of bombs on localities in South Viet Nam, destroying everything: ricefields, gardens, houses, churches, pagodas, and temples.

A rabid fascist, he has been ousting all those who do not see eye to eye with him, victimizing patriotic-minded people and responding to the desire for peace, reconciliation and national concord of millions of people and armymen with bullets, bayonets and imprisonment.

One hundred days after the signing of the Paris Agreement, gun reports are still heard and genuine peace is not yet round the corner in South Viet Nam. Within a short period of time, the Saigon troops, supported by aircraft and war vessels mounted eighty thousand inroads into the territory held by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the RSVN, and tens of thousands of round-ups to impress youths, massacre our fellow-countrymen and arrest tens of thousands of those who welcome the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam. Up to now, the Saigon administration has stubbornly continued to detain hundreds of thousands of patriots in its jails and brutalize many of them. In the areas under its control, it has flouted all elementary rights of the people such as freedom of movement, freedom of residence, freedom of work. It has instituted a dozen criminal courts to quell the movement for peace, freedom, democracy and national concord.

After his begging trip to the US, Nguyen Van Thieu has stepped up his "pacification" program. He exhorted his men to "fight the communists," to "prevent them from moving freely", to "shoot them at sight," to "nip all pro-communist demonstrations in the bud." Addressing 600 police officers, he instructed them to "foil all the communists' attempt to set up a third state in Viet Nam in accordance with the assertion that there exist in South Viet Nam two governments, two administrations and two armies." His regime has just finished the designing of 167 "settlement" areas and placed many thousands blood-thirsty officers at the head fascist organizations in the countryside.

He has given orders to build new military posts to tighten his grip on the population. His men force even old people, women and youngsters into "civilian defence" teams in order to stamp out local movements and to replace the "bao an" troops deployed into terrorist raids and encroachment operations.

In urban centres, the Saigon authorities clamp down a tight control on the movement of the masses; they make searches and arrests on a round-the-clock basis to whip up a tense atmosphere among all sections of the people. Applying a double-dealing policy, they use draft as well as threat to induce school youths into reactionary and anti-popular organizations. Thieu has dissolved more than seventy political parties save the "Democratic Party" headed by himself.

While he is faithful to Nixon and the American warmongers, this fascist tyran frantically sets his face against the right of 17 million South Vietnamese to self-determination. Of late he has impudently proposed that "North and South hold negotiations to reunify Viet Nam."

An administration which depends on American dollars and weapons and on corruption and fascist methods for survival, now speaks of "universal and secret ballot" to "elect a body representative of the South Viet Nam people, and decide the political regime of the country," this administration can only be a wolf in sheep's clothing!

To show its good will and a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, the PRG has recently made a sensible 6-point proposal consistent with the deep aspirations of the South Vietnamese people, which has won the support of world opinion and the wholehearted approval of our people.

However, to counter that offer, the Saigon administration has advanced a series of dubious programs aimed at dodging the solution of such urgent problems as ending the fighting and ensuring genuine democratic liberties.

This equivocation of Nguyen Van Thieu prompted the paper *Dien Tin* to write this on its April 30, 1973 issue: "The people long for elections, but elections in peace; and to create an atmosphere propitious to elections, it is necessary to ensure democratic freedoms for the people and to stop all hostilities as soon as possible."

After the South Vietnamese people have shed much of their blood in the past two decades in the fight against the imperialists' brazen aggression, they now eagerly wish for peace and national concord. But they are resolved to reject all forms of elections in which "the cart is put before the horse" and "castles are built in the air," like the ones rigged by the Saigon administration in the past. Never will the South Vietnamese accept an election held at the points of the guns and bayonets of a militarist and fascist regime, which is actually a tool of neo-colonialism, the US imperialists'.

Only when gunshots are stopped and democratic freedoms ensured to the people by the Saigon administration will elections be genuinely free in South Viet Nam. All Nguyen Van Thieu's transparent tricks and Nixon's dark designs are doomed to failure.

Meeting to demand from Thieu the ensurance of democratic liberties

Saigon still refuses to end hostilities

ACTUATED by the desire to strictly implement the provisions of the Paris Agreement and its Protocol on the cease-fire, and to actively contribute to the consolidation of peace in keeping with the South Vietnamese people's aspirations for national reconciliation and concord, in the May 11, 1973 session of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission, Major-General Hoang Anh Tuan, Head of the Military Delegation of the PRG, proposed a five-point amendment for an end to the hostilities on all fronts to secure a stable and lasting cease-fire throughout South Viet Nam.

With this new offer, the PRG once again proved its good will and seriousness, but the representative of the Saigon administration did not depart from his usual bad faith. He did everything to wrest the Agreement and tried to dodge the discussion of the five points by putting forth so-called concrete measures. He obstinately refused to allow low-echelon officers to meet their opposite members, though experience had shown that such meetings did result in limiting clashes between forces controlling the two zones and in creating favourable conditions for the people to freely go about their work.

The Saigon administration deliberately reiterated its misrepresentations of the PRG proposals, rejected all discussions on the cease-fire with a view to legalizing its illegal inroads ever since January 28, 1973.

All that has been inspired by the US-Thieu dark design to sabotage the Paris Agreement. While paying lip service to "peace," national reconstruction and development, they actually are utterly afraid of peace.

As a counter-move, the Saigon administration advanced on May 22, 1973 a seven-point proposal, and parallel to this stepped up its division-size incursions into the provinces of Binh Long, Phuoc Long, Thu Dau Mot, Binh Dinh. Their aircraft and artillery daily bombarded the free zone. More brazenly still, USAF planes took a direct part in the bombing of the liberated territory of Tay Ninh and other localities.

The most pressing problem at present is to demand from the Saigon administration an immediate cease-fire, ensurance of the people's democratic freedoms and release of all political prisoners. If the US government does not give up its Nixon doctrine and keeps on maintaining in office the Thieu administration as a tool for the realization of its neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam, if the Saigon administration continues to thwart the people's aspirations for peace, independence, democracy, national reconciliation and concord, and dreams of controlling all South Viet Nam territory, both of them will court even more dismal failures.

In Quang Tri

Grand meeting marks the 4th founding anniversary of the RSVN PRG

Never has Quang Tri seen such a great historic day

This unit of women fighters, previously so much feared by the enemy, now becomes a shock unit in production

A grand meeting was held on June 5, 1973 in a liberated area of Quang Tri by the Provincial People's Revolutionary Committee to observe the 4th anniversary of the RSVN PRG with participation of over 7,000 representatives of the people of all walks of life in South Viet Nam.

The South Viet Nam NFL and Alliance forces and the RSVN PRG was represented by a delegation including Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the NFL Central Committee and the Advisory Council of the PRG, head delegate; Lawyer Trinh Dinh Thao, President of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces and Vice-President of the Advisory Council of the PRG, deputy head-delegate; Nguyen Doa, Vice-President of the PRG, deputy head-delegate; Mme Nguyen Thi Binh, RSVN Foreign Minister; Ibih Aleo, President of the Movement for the Autonomy of the Nationalities in the High Plateaux, Vice-President of the Presidium of the NFL Central Committee, and member of the Advisory Council of the PRG; Superior Thich Thien Hao, President of the South Viet Nam Buddhists' Association and Presidium member of the NFL Central Committee; Huynh Van Tri, representative of the Hoa Hao Sect and member of the Advisory Council of the PRG; Mme Nguyen Dinh Chi, member of the Advisory Council of the PRG; Prof Ton That Duong Ky, Secretary General of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces; and others.

The delegation of the DRVN National Assembly was led by Nguyen Xien, Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee, and included Nguyen Xuan Linh, Standing member; and Nguyen Thi Minh Nha, alterate standing member.

Deputizing for the DRVN Government was a delegation led by Nguyen Con, Vice-Premier, and which included Nguyen Van Huyen, Minister of Education; Hoang Minh Giam, Minister of Culture; Pham Ngoc Thuan, Vice-Chairman of the National Unification Commission of the Government; and others.

Foreign guests included General Sinkapo, member of the Lao Patriotic Front Central Committee, head of the LPF delegation; Ambassador Xieng An, head of the delegation of the National United Front of Kampuchea and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia; and the Ambassadors of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, the Hungarian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Poland, the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic, and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

On the Presidium, with President Nguyen Huu Tho, President Trinh Dinh Thao, and other South Vietnamese figures were Nguyen Xien, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the DRVN National Assembly and head of the DRVN National Assembly delegation; Vice-Premier Nguyen Con, Head of the DRVN Government delegation; Hoang Minh Giam, DRVN Minister of Culture and Presidium member of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, etc.

Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, in his speech, pointed out the great, historic significance of the setting up of the RSVN PRG, the only genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people.

Under the glorious banner of the NFL and the PRG and united as one man, he said, the South Vietnamese people have fought tirelessly and crowned the national struggle against US aggression with great victory—the signing of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and the ridding of Viet Nam of all foreign aggressors.

He strongly condemned the US and the Saigon administration for seriously and systematically violating the provisions of the Paris Agreement, and reiterated the iron-like determination of the South Viet Nam army and people to maintain peace and defend the liberated area. The South Vietnamese people, he stressed, resolve to struggle for a peaceful, neutral, independent, democratic, and prosperous South Viet Nam, and the ultimate peaceful reunification of the country.

Vice-Premier Nguyen Con, on behalf of the Government and the National Assembly of the DRVN, conveyed to the NFL CC, the RSVN PRG, the Advisory Council, and all the South Vietnamese compatriots the profound feelings of love felt by the DRVN National Assembly and Government and the entire people in North Viet Nam to the people of the South. After strongly condemning the US and the Saigon administration for their violation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, and the US and the Vientiane administration for their infringement on the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos, and denouncing the US for intensifying the war in Cambodia, he stressed:

"We are strictly implementing the Paris Agreement, and firmly demand that the US and the Saigon administration do likewise... No libel against the DRVN Government and the RSVN PRG, no pressure can deter or make us depart from the just cause... In this struggle, our Vietnamese people will certainly triumph, because our forces in both zones have increased, and because we are determined to get our fundamental national rights and to win for the South Vietnamese people the right to self-determination."

He reiterated the constant, full support for the revolutionary struggle of the Lao and Cambodian peoples, till their final victory, and laid stress on the North Vietnamese army and people's determination to defend the North Viet Nam, and their devoted assistance to the South Vietnamese people to strengthen their revolutionary forces in all fields.

Foreign Ambassadors present credentials to President Nguyen Huu Tho

IN the PRG-controlled area, from June 3 to 4, 1973, Taleb Bendial Chaieb, Ambassador Extraordinary Plenipotentiary of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic; Om Kieng Tchol, Ambassador Extraordinary Plenipotentiary of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; Wang Jo-chieh, Ambassador Extraordinary Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China; Alexei Elizavetin, Ambassador Extraordinary Plenipotentiary of the USSR; Jan Krzywicki, Ambassador Extraordinary Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Poland; Bela Benyei, Ambassador Extraordinary Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Hungary; Dietrick Jarsk, Ambassador Extraordinary Plenipotentiary of the German Democratic Republic; Mohamed Ould Sidi Ali, Ambassador Extraordinary Plenipotentiary of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania have presented their credentials to Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation Central Committee and President of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

Present on these occasions were RSVN Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh, Vice Foreign Minister Hoang Bich Son, and Tran Nam Trung, Acting chief of Protocol of the RSVN Foreign Ministry.

Minister Nguyen Thi Binh receives Cuban Ambassador

Signing of the RSVN - CUBA cooperation Accord

RECENTLY Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Viet Nam Nguyen Thi Binh received Raul Valdes Vivo, Cuban Ambassador in an area under the control of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, on the occasion of the latter's return to his post in South Viet Nam.

This is the third time the Cuban ambassador arrived in South Viet Nam to assume his post since he presented his credentials to President Nguyen Huu Tho on March 4, 1969.

On this occassion Minister Nguyen Thi Binh, on behalf of the National Front for Liberation, the PRG and the people of South Viet Nam, expressed her sincere thanks to the Party, Government and people of Cuban for their precious support and assistance to the struggle of the South Vietnamese people against the US aggressors, for national salvation.

She asked the Cuban Ambassador to convey the best regards of Presidents Nguyen Huu Tho and Huynh Tan Phat to Premier Fidel Castro and the other Party and State leaders of Cuba.

Ambassador Raul Valdes Vivo expressed his joy and pride on returning to South Viet Nam and conveyed the regards of Premier Fidel Castro to Presidents Nguyen Huu Tho and Huynh Tan Phat.

The reception took place in an atmosphere of friendship and close militant solidarity.

Also on this occasion, Hoang Bich Son, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs on behalf of the PRG, and Raul Valdes Vivo, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the Republic of Cuba on behalf of his government, have signed a plan for cultural, educational and medical co-operation between the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Republic of Cuba for 1973 and 1974.

Present on the occasion were Minister for Foreign Affairs Nguyen Thi Binh, Head of the Second Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Nguyen Nhu and Acting Chief of Protocol Le Trung Nam.

On the Cuban side was Captain Diego E. Gonzalez, Perez, Military the Cuban Embassy.

EXHIBITION on *South Viet Nam's victory* opens

AN exhibition displaying the victories recorded by the South Vietnamese people was opened in a liberated area of Quang Tri province in the afternoon of June 6 on the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

Present at the inauguration, which was performed by Lawyer Trinh Dinh Thao, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces and Vice-President of the Advisory Council to the PRG of the Republic of South Viet Nam, were many other leading members of the PRG, the NFL and the Alliance.

The DRVN National Assembly delegation led by Nguyen Xien, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee, and that of the DRVN Government led by Vice-Premier Nguyen Con, to the celebrations of the PRG anniversary were also present; so were General Singkapo, member of the Lao Patriotic Front Central Committee and head of the LPF delegation; Ambassador Xieng An, head of the delegation of the NUFK and the RGNUC; and various foreign ambassadors, accredited to the RSVN.

The exhibits faithfully depicted the heroic struggle of the South Vietnamese people and armed forces in the past 18 years, especially during the concerted uprisings in 1959-1960, the 1968 Tet Offensive, and the general strategic offensive in 1972.

Other historic events in South Viet Nam like the founding of the NFL, the National People's Representative Congress to form the PRG and its Advisory Council, the signing of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, etc., were all very well recorded.

LEADERS OF SOUTH VIET NAM FRONT AND ALLIANCE RECEIVE DRVN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATIONS

A delegation of the DRVN National Assembly headed by Nguyen Xien, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee, and another of the DRVN Government headed by Vice-Premier Nguyen Con, to the celebrations of the fourth anniversary of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, on June 5, called on Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, and of the Advisory Council to the PRG, and Lawyer Trinh Dinh Thao, Chairman of the Central Committee of Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces and Vice-President of the PRG's Advisory Council.

Present were many leading members of the PRG, the NFL, and the VNANDPF.

In an atmosphere of brotherly love, Vice-Chairman Nguyen Xien, on behalf of the National Assembly, the Government and the people of the DRVN, conveyed to the Central Committee of the NLF, the PRG, and the 17 million Southern compatriots the warmest congratulations of the people in the North. He also presented Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho with a portrait of President Ho Chi Minh, beloved leader of the nation.

Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, for his part, renewed the determination of the South Vietnamese people to maintain peace, materialize national reconciliation and concord, and achieve national independence and democracy to proceed the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

South Vietnamese people's ...

(*Continued from page 1*)

On the other hand, the NFL and PRG will not tolerate any incursions of the Saigon troops and the South Vietnamese will not cease being on their guard and exposing and foiling all US and Saigon moves to hinder and wreck the execution of the Paris Agreement, to rekindle the war and undermine peace in Viet Nam.

QUESTION: *What are the NFL and PRG economic policies for the present new stage?*

ANSWER: Promptly heal the war wounds, restore the people's life to normal, rehabilitate and develop national economy, eventually build an independent, self-managing and prosperous economy, with as main objectives the restoration of agricultural handicraft and small industrial production and expansion of the exchange of goods between various areas for the gradual betterment of the masses' living standards.

The right to the ownership of land already distributed will be asserted and regularized, the distribution of land continued to peasants including Northern people forced to immigrate, natives of other areas victims of Saigon forced resettlement policy and break-away Saigon troops. The right to the ownership of their estates of landlords, rich peasants, Catholic Church, pagodas, and holy sees will be also protected.

Unemployment will be actively dealt with, a rational system of salaries and allowances put into effect, another of working hours, leaves and welfare enforced, the workers' and labouring people's working and living conditions improved, conflicts between labour and capital settled through negotiations carried out in a conciliatory spirit with a view to pushing up production and ensuring the employees' well-being.

Commercial and industrial undertakings will be encouraged, commerce, industry and handicraft expanded, economic interflow between towns and countryside, between plains and mountains, stimulated. Private ownership and free enterprise will be always respected, remittance of overseas Vietnamese residents capital for investment in national construction encouraged, so will investment of foreign capital and technical skill in South Viet Nam economic rehabilitation and construction, on the basis of respect for its independence, sovereignty and democratic legislation.

The NFL and PRG will endeavour to restore economic relations between South and North and enlarge trade and scientific and technical co-operation with foreign countries and accept economic and technical aid from all sources, provided it is without political strings attached.

QUESTION: *And what about the South-North relations?*

ANSWER: From the truism that Viet Nam is one and the Vietnamese nation is one, and in order to end the agony of partition, the NFL and PRG is for gradual peaceful reunification through negotiations and arrangements, without either side trying to coerce and eliminate the other and without foreign intervention. The date for such a course of action will be fixed by discussion and mutual consent.

Pending reunification, both zones will enter into negotiations to normalize the relations between them, with priority given to postal communications, travel, economic and cultural exchanges.

Economic intercourse will be re-established in the spirit of both zones complementing each other and helping each other toward rapid economic prosperity.

Cultural relations will be restored between South and North to raise the people's cultural standard, foster talents and enrich national culture.

Re-establishment of normal relations between the two zones is a fondest wish of their people. It will pave the way to national peaceful reunification, which was also a most eager desire of President Ho Chi Minh, our nation's great leader.

I avail myself of this occasion to express the heartfelt gratitude of the SVN NFL, PRG and people for the unstinted assistance of our fellow-countrymen of the North which remains the solid rearbase of South Viet Nam's struggle for peace, independence, democracy, welfare, national reconciliation and concord.

Commemorative Speech of Chairman Nguyen Huu Tho at the Fourth Founding Anniversary of the RSVN PRG in Quang Tri:

PRG, the sole genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people

Honourable members of the Presidium,

Honourable representatives of the DRVN Government and Viet Nam Fatherland Front Central Committee,

Honourable delegates of the DRVN National Assembly,

Your Excellencies Ambassadors and envoys,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Dear fellow-countrymen and fighters,

THIS celebration of the fourth founding anniversary of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and its Advisory Council is held in a jubilant atmosphere.

A momentous event in Viet Nam's national history and in the world peoples' movement for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress has occured not long ago: it was the signing of the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam on the basis of respect for the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination. Under its terms, the American expeditionary corps has been withdrawn from South Viet Nam, thereby ending the most atrocious war of aggression of the most powerful imperialism, and the occupation of our national territory by foreign armies throughout the last 115 years.

The triumph of our anti-US resistance for national salvation, the most signal episode in the millenary heroic fight of our nation, has ushered in a new stage and brought about a new situation propitious to the striving of our Southern people for the preservation of peace, realization of national concord, improvement of their well-being, completion of independence and democracy, and ultimate peaceful national reunification.

Allow me to express, on behalf of the National Front for Liberation Central Committee, the Advisory Council, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, our great gratification at sharing with our Quang Tri fellow-countrymen and fighters the joy of the nation on this festive occasion of our Southern people. I hereby address my warmest greetings to our Quang Tri fellow-countrymen and fighters who rose up and dealt deadly blows at the enemy to wrest back freedom then successfully faced the devastating deluge of bombs and shells by US air force and navy, kept up their iron-like determination to defend, consolidate and built up their liberated native province, and stood up to the toughest trials and confrontation. Quang Tri is indeed worthy of being an heroic province of the heroic South. of heroic Viet Nam.

I also heartily welcome the DRVN Government and VietNam Fatherland Front Central Committee delegation led by Vice-Premier Nguyen Con,

The DRVN National Assembly delegation led by Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee Nguyen Xien,

The Ambassadors of eight friendly countries who have just presented their credentials, and our foreign friends who have overcome many difficulties to come to this celebration.

The Presidium of the meeting

Ladies, Gentlemen and dear friends,

Dear fellow-countrymen and fighters,

THE formation of the RSVN PRG four years ago at a moment when our mounting anti-US patriotic resistance war heralded today's occurrences of historic significance. It was a glowing assertion of the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination and vivid indication of the upward trend of the South Vietnamese revolution. For the last four years, the NFL and RSVN PRG, together with the entire people, have been holding high the "Determined-to-fight-and-to-win" banner, by defeating "Vietnamization" and the Nixon doctrine, consolidating and expanding the liberated zone, stepping up the fight in the enemy-controlled areas, accomplishing news-making feats-of-arms and finally forcing the US and Saigon administration to sign the Paris Agreement. The international image of the NFL—the organizer and leader of all successes—and that of the RSVN PRG, sole genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people, has gained added lustre and the most impressive illustration of this was their admission to the Georgetown Conference of Non-Aligned Countries.

It is beyond any doubt that the Paris Agreement and the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam were tremendous achievements of the South Vietnamese people and of the whole Vietnamese nation. The two documents have taken note of the commitment of the US government to respect Viet Nam's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity and to put a final stop to its aggression, military involvement and intervention in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam. They have recognized the sacredness and inviolability of the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, the actual existence in South Viet Nam of two administrations, two armies, two zones of control and three political forces, and the right of the South Vietnamese people to decide their own political future through genuinely free and democratic elections in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord.

Such an unprecedented and all-sided success was due to Vietnamese revolution's independent and sovereign philosophy and its sound and creative political and military line, and the one-mindedness of all the South Vietnamese people in front of the enemy. It was that of our entire nation, North and South alike, animated with the single purpose to defeat the US aggressors and save the country. It was that of the Vietnamese man in the Ho Chi Minh era, who, through dozens of centuries of resistance against foreign invasions, has tempered his "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" conviction, and brought into full play his patriotism and revolutionary heroism. Whoever has Vietnamese blood in his veins and really loves his country and his people can take pride in this success and have a share in this honour, common to all the three Indochinese fraternal peoples bound by the fight against the same enemy. It was possible thanks to the valuable support and assistance of the socialist countries, of many nationalist and peace- and justice-loving countries and of the peoples all over the five continents, including the American progressives. It bore out this truth of our epoch: a nation, with a medium-sized territory and population, but possessed of a judicious revolutionary line, pursuing a policy of unity at home and with other peoples and determined to fight and to win, can certainly outwit any aggressor.

On this occasion, all our fellow-countrymen and fighters in the South pay tribute to the Great President Ho Chi Minh, whose memory we cherish and respect, and whose leadership took us from one success to another.

Our eternal gratitude goes also to the army of braves who selflessly fought and laid down their lives for the Fatherland.

I avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate and commend on behalf of the NFL Central Committee and the RSVN PRG — all officers and men of the People's Liberation Armed Forces and all valiant sons of our land, on their exploits and zealous defence of the fruits of the revolution, by foiling all encroachments by the Saigon army. May I also praise all our people, in countryside and towns, in the free zone and the Saigon-controlled area, at home and abroad, for their close unity and vigorous endeavour to coordinate action with the army against overwhelming odds and bring our national effort to fruition.

I extend my hearfelt praise to the fellow-countrymen, officers and men of the PLAF of Quang Tri province who, at the price of innumerable hardships and sacrifices, made a glorious contribution to the victory of the whole people of the heroic South and of heroic Viet Nam.

Let us offer our most affectionate thanks to our fellow-countrymen and fighters of the North, the great rear-base true to its pledge to "devote everything to the defeat of the Yankee aggressors" and "to the kindred South," who stubbornly resisted and dramatically foiled the fiercest war escalations of the Americans while giving wholehearted assistance to the great frontline.

Let us convey our most sincere greetings and thanks to the heroic Cambodian people and to the heroic Lao people.

Let us sincerely thank the Soviet Union, China, the other socialist countries, the nationalist countries, the peoples and governments of peace- and justice-loving countries all over the world for their unfailing support and assistance to the Vietnamese people.

Ladies, Gentlemen and dear friends,

Dear fellow-countrymen and fighters,

THE Paris Agreement on Viet Nam became effective more than four months ago, but genuine peace has not been restored. Not only has the United States aided and abetted the Saigon administration's serious violations of the ceasefire, it has itself broken it by repeatedly bombarding and strafing the Tay Ninh and Binh Long areas, continued its military involvement in South Viet Nam by leaving behind and sending additional weapons and war materials and tens of thousands of military personnel in civilian clothes, and by committing war acts against the South Vietnamese people. Meanwhile, it has kept on flying reconnaissance missions over North Viet Nam, stopped demining the territorial waters and rivers of the North and unilaterally suspended the sessions of the DRVN — USA Joint Economic Commission. US aircraft have gone on with their attacks against Laos. Of special gravity has been US war escalation against Cambodia. B.52's and all kinds of US tactical aircraft have been intensifying the savage bombing of populated areas in Cambodia, including the vicinity of the capital city of Phnom Penh. In defiance of the Paris Agreement and the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam, in disregard of the world and American people's opposition, in the teeth of the US Congress' disapproval, the Nixon administration has made clear its determination to carry on the air strikes in order to shore up the Lon Nol clique of traitors.

For the last thirty-odd years South Viet Nam has not known a single day of peace. Our people's ordeal is beyond description after eighteen years of US atrocious war. The signing of the Paris Agreement should have brought them peace, democratic freedoms and better living conditions. But the Nguyen Van Thieu administration, which has servilely acted as a US agent in innumerable crimes, has been persisting in its betrayal of the nation. Guns continue to boom and blood to flow. Not only has the ceasefire not been effective but the fighting has grown even fiercer in certain areas. The "pacification" program with its police actions has been going on unabated, hundreds of thousands of political prisoners are still languishing in Saigon's prisons and torture-rooms. The life of all social sections in the Saigon-controlled territory remains, as before, oppressive and wretched, haunted by fascist terror, deprived of democratic freedoms, plagued by increased taxes, galloping inflation and military draft. Millions of families have lost their hearths and homes and millions of people their means of livelihood.

Recently, Nguyen Van Thieu has advanced spurious allegations and resorted to various manoeuvres to deny the existence of the PRG and that in South Viet Nam of two administrations, two armies, two zones of control and three political forces.

Clearly enough, while the policy and acts of the PRG and the DRVN Government are based on respect for and strict implementation of the Paris Agreement, the US government and the Saigon administration have been challenging in a systematic and most serious manner all fundamental provisions of the same Agreement, thereby aggravating the situation in South Viet Nam and Indochina. The US government has laid bare its intention to renege on its signature and pledge and to pursue the implementation of its "Nixon doctrine" and neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam, while the Nguyen Van Thieu clique has appeared in its true colours as a gang of militarists and fascists, willing tools of US imperialism and breakers of the Paris Agreement and the South Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and right to self-determination.

We demand that they respect and strictly implement the Paris Agreement and take urgent measures based on the 6-point proposal put forth by the PRG at the Two-Party Consultative Conference in Paris. They must immediately:

— Put an end to all hostilities and scrupulously abide by the provisions concerning the ceasefire which is to be lasting and without time-limit, with a view to securing durable peace in South Viet Nam;

— Return all Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Viet Nam.

— Ensure fully all democratic freedoms of all the South Vietnamese people;

— Set up the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord with three equal segments.

We insist that the US completely end its military involvement and intervention in South Viet Nam's internal affairs, and its air reconnaissance activities over North Viet Nam, resume its mine-removal and fulfil its duties towards the DRVN in accordance with Article 21 of the Paris Agreement, cease its acts of war and aggression against Cambodia and Laos and strictly respect those two people's fundamental national rights.

IN the face of our people's tremendous gains, the forces of aggression, war and totalitarianism have been trying hard to turn back the wheel of history, wreck the Paris Agreement in the defence of their dirty interests. Our people's fight will be very complicated and arduous. But the new conjuncture has opened up bright prospects. Conditions are more favourable to us than ever before and they are most fundamental. We are in a clearly winning posture.

The balance of forces has undergone important changes to the advantage of the Vietnamese revolution.

The southern part of our country is now rid of the American soldiery. The extensive free areas under control of the PRG, comprising important strategic territories in both mountains and plains, are the concentrated embodiment of the achievements of the revolution in the South. Its very existence, its growing strength and credit have generated a change in the situation in South Viet Nam and marked a major advance of the South Vietnamese people's drive for independence and freedom while narrowing the down sphere of action of US neo-colonialism. It enjoys an absolute superiority owing to its fine characteristics inherent in a national, democratic and popular regime. Political power is in the people's hand and the latter have taken their destiny in their own hands.

The US war of aggression heavily devastated our liberated areas. But millions of peasants have, as real masters of their fields, resumed production and gradually restored their life to normal. Such branches as education, culture and health have been developed. Under our fine political regime, thanks to the exertions of the entire people and their huge potential, our liberated zone will certainly become prosperous and strong.

The areas controlled by the Saigon administration are under the US neo-colonialist sway. Nguyen Van Thieu who formerly invited the US expeditionary forces in to ride roughshod on our soil is still hanging on to the Americans' apron strings, defying our people and setting his face against peace and national concord. With its schemes and deeds, his administration has shown its true colours as an instrument of US neo-colonialism; it is doing its best to maintain South Viet Nam in the orbit of the US and wants to keep our country permanently partitioned. It is now more and more estranged from, and opposed by, the majority of our people.

The Saigon army, trained, organized, equipped, commanded and paid by the US, has been feverishly beefed up during the "Vietnamisation" period. The 1972 test made it evident that it could hardly stand on its own legs, that its moral was low and its organizational ability poor.

Thanks to their sound policy, the South Viet Nam NFL and the RSVN PRG have won the confidence and unstinted support not only of the people in the liberated areas, but also of all social sections in the Saigon-controlled areas who rallied under the banner of justice, independence, peace and national concord raised by the NFL and the RSVN PRG. In the international arena, the South Viet Nam NFL and PRG, which champion independence, peace and neutrality, have enlisted the sympathy and unqualified support of our friends the world over.

With regard to the Americans, their aggressive war in Viet Nam has been at the bottom of a serious all-round crisis and untold economic, political and

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US bomb-charred soil is thriving now

social troubles. Foolishly enough, the US government has been sticking to its old uninspired line, pursuing its "Nixon doctrine" and planning new military adventures disastrous to the interests of the US and its people.

Across South Viet Nam, throughout Viet Nam, all over Indochina and in the world, the position and power of our people are stronger than ever. The balance of forces has definitively tilted in our favour.

The considerable gains of our people in South and North Viet Nam and of the Cambodian and Lao peoples, and the progress of the forces of peace, independence, democracy and social progress are making it possible for us to push forward our drive for peace, independence and democracy.

We will not be cowed by any evil force and pressure. We will consistently abide by the Paris Agreement. But our patience has a limit. We will resolutely resist all encroachments of the Saigon army and are ready to foil all military adventure of the warmongers.

The US and the Saigon administration are caught on the horns of a dilemna: either to strictly implement the Paris Agreement and the international Conference's Act on Viet Nam, or to maintain a state of war and its fascist client regime and to deny the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese. Should they opt for the second alternative, they would court an irremediable failure and have to bear all responsibilities arising therefrom.

Dear fellow-countrymen and combatants,

THE present tension in South Viet Nam urgently calls for the unity of all our people and a stubborn struggle for a strict implementation of the Paris Agreement in the spirit of national reconciliation and concord for the sake of genuine peace, independence and democracy, the people's living conditions, consolidation of the liberated areas and building revolutionary forces in all fields so as to turn South Viet Nam into a peaceful, independent, democratic and prosperous and to eventually achieve the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam.

After its emergence, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam made public its 12-point Program of Action. On May 12, 1972, the People's Revolutionary Committee of Quang Tri province issued a communiqué on ten policies regarding its liberated areas.

On this occasion, we reiterate the policy consistent with the Paris Agreement of the PRG of the RSVN as follows:

— Establish a genuinely national and democratic political regime, completely free from all dependence on foreign countries, ensure the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people,

— Heal the war wounds, normalize the people's life, restore and build national economy into an independent, sovereign and prosperous one,

— Build a national democratic, healthy and progressive culture and education, promote science and technology and develop medicare,

— Normalize the relations between South and North, achieve the ultimate peaceful reunification of the country,

— Strengthen good neighbouring relations, solidarity and mutual assistance between the peoples of the three Indochinese countries, pursue a foreign policy of independence, neutrality and peace.

Peace, independence, democracy and happiness are the fondest aspirations of our entire people. The South Viet Nam NFL and the PRG of the RSVN emphatically declare that they will continue to respect and strictly implement all the stipulations of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam in order to fulfil the great wishes of our fellow-countrymen, and resolutely require the US and the Saigon administration to do the same.

Unity which gives strength is a traditional policy of our people. It is the primary factor vouching for the final success of our just cause. We all enhance our unity under the NFL and PRG banner.

"National concord is the fundamental, primordial and unswerving line of the NFL and PRG. It is the devout wish of all our people. It promises honour and a bright future to us and peace and joy to our country; family reunions, independence, freedom and happiness to everyone. To oppose it is to deliberately act as a tool for foreigners' pursuance of their aggressive and neo-colonialist policy, to sink deeper in the quagmire of crimes and to invite bitter failures.

The PRG of the RSVN will warmly welcome and cooperate with anyone, whatever may be his past record, provided that he is ready to militate for peace, independence, democracy and national concord. In the interest of all of us, for the future of our country, let all the Vietnamese belonging to either side get rid of all prejudices and pool their efforts to build a life in harmony and happiness.

National concord requires the strict implementation of the Paris Agreement, recognition of the existence in South Viet Nam of two administrations, two armies, two zones of control and three political forces, this being a historical fact which cannot be obscured. The South Viet Nam NFL and the RSVN PRG call on all organisations and individuals of the third force to fight with all our people for the strict observance of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, the ensurance of democratic freedoms, the return of tens of thousands of political prisoners, the stabilization of our people's life and the enforcement of the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese in the spirit of national conciliation and concord.

Dear officers and men of the People's Liberation Armed Forces,

Unfailingly complying with the cease-fire order and the national concord policy towards the soldiers in the Saigon army, carry on your training, keep up your vigilance, duly punish the war makers' violations and sabotage of the agreement, stand ready to repel all enemy's raids and encroachments and all attemps to sabotage peace, and defend the liberated areas, the revolutionary power and the people's life.

Fellow-countrymen and combatants in the liberated areas,

Enhance your solidarity and mutual assistance, heal rapidly the war wounds, restore your life to normal, overcome all difficulties, step up production, raise gradually the economic and cultural standards of our people, expand the health service and consolidate the liberated zone in all respects.

Dear fellow-countrymen and combatants in Quang Tri province,

Continue your fine tradition of close solidarity, consolidate the liberated areas in all fields, normalize and gradually improve your welfare, join your efforts with those of the rest of the people in building a peaceful, independent, democratic and prosperous South Viet Nam with an eye to peaceful national reunification.

The South Viet Nam NFL and PRG call on our fellow-countrymen in the Saigon-controlled areas to prevail upon the US and the Saigon administration to scrupulously honour the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, put an end to all terror, repression, purge, damage to the people's lives and property, raise the the people's living standard, abolish arbitrary taxes, ensure freedom of movement, of trade, of belief, of the press and all other democratic liberties. Our fellow-countrymen there will take part with the entire people in turning South Viet Nam into a peaceful, independent, democratic and prosperous country, pending the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam.

We call on the officers and men of the Saigon army to cooperate for the sake of the country with the Liberation armymen in order to correctly implement the cease-fire order, oppose marching orders and murders of civilians and avoid all regretable bloodsheds. As peace and independence are the fondest hope of all, let all of us try to realize it promptly and restore peace and happiness to our people.

The big successes obtained in the recent past have thrown light on the soundness and creativeness of the PRG foreign policy.

True to the common declaration of the Indochinese Peoples' Summit Conference, we shall constantly reinforce the good neighbourhood relations and mutual assistance between the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos in the fight for the achievement and preservation of their fundamental national rights as well as in the construction of each country according to its own way.

The PRG of the RSVN, the sole genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people, declares that they will firmly maintain and develop the friendship with all the countries having set up diplomatic relations with them and ready to establish diplomatic relations with, and receive economic aids from, all countries on the basis of respect of independence, sovereignty, equality and mutual interests.

The NFL and PRG are convinced that the sympathy and support of other countries for the South Vietnamese people will be stepped up in the struggle for peace, and for the enforcement of the fundamental national rights and right to self-determination of our people.

We call on world public opinion to condemn the violations of the US and the Saigon administration and to take appropriate measures to force the US and the Saigon administration to respect and implement the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and the International Conference's Act.

Dear fellow-countrymen and armymen,

OUR people have been highly gratified by our historic victory. Under the banner of peace, independence, democracy and national concord let us follow it up and resolutely realize President Ho Chi Minh's last wishes in the "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" spirit, and achieve a peaceful, independent, democratic and prosperous South Viet Nam, and eventual peaceful reunification of the country.

With our minds turned to the beloved North, we wish to assure it of the staunch loyalty of all the people and armymen of the Southern Brass Wall and their profound gratitude towards President Ho Chi Minh, our great national leader. The South will enshrine in its heart all that the North has done in the confrontation with the common enemy. We pledge to do our best to fulfil the mission entrusted to us by the country in the present stage of the revolutionary struggle.

Together with our fellow-countrymen all over the country, let us enthusiastically march forward!

Total victory shall be ours!

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Boost production is now one of our major tasks

THE LIBERATED ZONE IN FULL DEVELOPMENT

Digging a liberation canal

THE early summer sun was blazing on the canal linking Cam Thuy and Cam Thanh, under construction amidst songs from a megaphone, drum beats: laughters and chatters mingled with the clang of mattocks and shovels.

"Old as you are," I asked old Hoang Duc Ton from Cam Thuy village, "you take part in this hard work all the same?"

"Yes," he replied "if I cannot dig, at least I can encourage the young folk!"

Everywhere we went we noticed the same enthusiasm. Only after two hours' work the ditch was dredged and deepened. The workers were supplied with tea brought in by the women from Lam Lang hamlet, and sweetmeats, cigarettes, towels, etc. of the roving shops from the two villages.

The manager of the working site told us joyfully: "They are most eager to work, our people! The work is to begin at 7 a.m. but as early as 5 a.m. they already line the ten kilometres' length of the irrigation work, ready to start."

We visited the portion of the inhabitants of Cam Vu hamlet just when they were taking a break.

"This 10-kilometre long canal will water the plains of Cam Thuy, Cam Giang and Cam Thanh villages," they said. "We are very happy to join in this job to bring water to our own fields and to embellish our native land."

The sun was high up in the sky. Though all in sweat, the navvies were absorbed in their digging, since after liberation they all wanted to do their bits in the building of their villages and bring in bumper crops.

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New life at L. village

UNDER US occupation, over one thousand inhabitants of L. village (Quang Ngai province) were killed, hundreds of hectares of farmland devastated and thousands of oxen and buffaloes slaughtered. Yet the villagers still clung to their land.

Since liberation, the revolutionary power has been helping the people restore production and bring life back to normal.

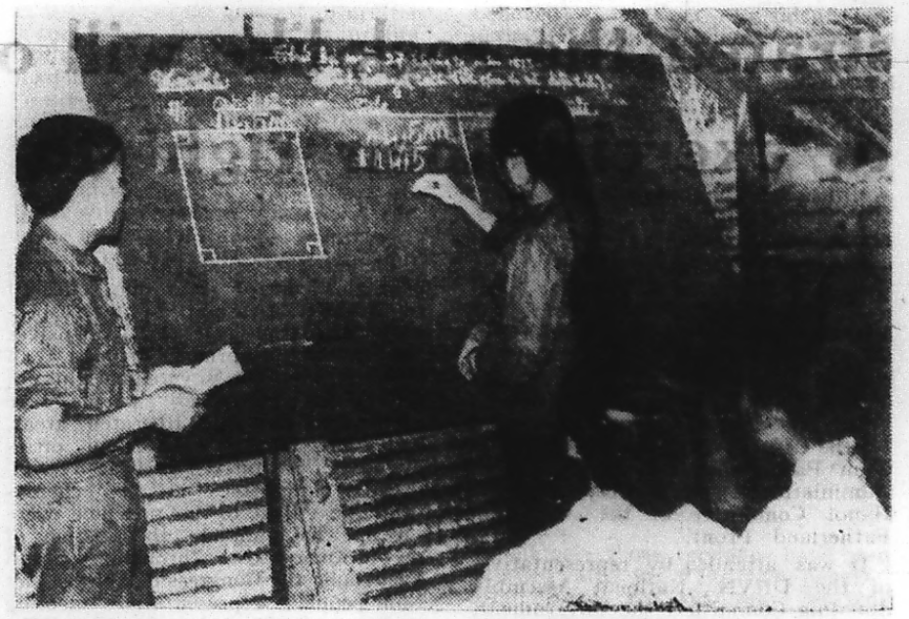
Hundreds of families have returned to rebuild their homes. To obtain heavy crops at a time when draught animals are lacking, the peasants substitute hoes to ploughshares, build dykes to make rivers deviate and water their fields, use high-yield rice strains and fertilizers and give greater care to their crops.

Since liberation, hundreds of families at L. village (Ba To district) have cleared over 40 hectares of ricefield and sown nearly one ton of seeds, which has enabled them to reap good crops. Formerly L. village always ran short of foods though it had 1,800 farmhands and 2,000 buffaloes. Now with only 25 buffaloes and 450 farmhands it has manage to put back under cultivation nearly half the acreage, which makes it possible for it to become self-sufficient in food and to make contributions in kind to the revolution.

L. village has now changed for the better. Every month it is visited by medical teams and everyday its children go to the school—a series of houses on stilts run by teachers natives of the place.

Enjoying freedom and happiness and receiving education, farmers realize all the clearer the blessings of the revolution, which strengthens their desire to defend their native land and build a new life.

A continuation course for cadres



The call from the Fatherland

THOUGH it was late in the night, Mrs Ba was still tossing about in her bed, wondering why, peace being restored, her husband had not returned home.

For over one year since the time the enemy in Mo Cay (Ben Tre) military sub-sector, rounded up inhabitants and impressed her husband into the Saigon army, she had had to scrape along miserably, ashamed of her husband.

Sympathizing with her position, militants and neighbours frequently came to her house to comfort her and to discuss ways to bring her husband home.

Many times she visited him and tried to bring him round, he refused to listen: "I've made a mistake by bearing arms for the enemy, which is a crime against the people. It is difficult for me now to return to the village; the die is cast..."

The thought of her husband caused her great pain. One day, the door squeaked open. Mrs Hai came in, sat on the edge of the bed and asked her "Do you still keep the book the Front gave you?..."

"Yes, I do," Ba said after a pause.

"If I'm not mistaken," Mrs Hai went on, "it says among other things that the Provisionary Revolutionary Government will be clement towards the families whose members leave the enemy's rank and reward those who have rendered distinguished services. Read the book carefully and go and tell your husband about it."

With an emotion mixed with anticipation, Mrs Ba went back to her room and dug out a small book. She perused page after page and drank in every word. Deeply impressed by the explanations given by the militants and co-villagers she was also moved by the kind sympathy of the Front. She entrusted her child to one of her neighbours and went to her husband.

As she had wished for, that day, after secretly reading the little book brought by his wife, Ba was no longer in the dumps. His wife told him that far from despising her, her co-villagers and rural authorities always tried to cheer her up and gave her useful advice. She also conveyed to him the greetings of Mrs Hai, the villagers and the revolutionary cadres.

"I'll return to the Fatherland, to our village." Ba said to his wife with a lump in his throat. "And I'll do something worthy of the confidence of the revolution and of our folks."

And he kept his promise. He went back to his village, not alone, but with a dozen soldiers who had shared his lot. Ba's family was reunited in the love of the villagers and in national concord.

Achievements in South Viet Nam liberated zone

THE NFL and the RSVN PRG by 1972 had allotted 1,650,000 hectares of land to peasants in the liberated zone.

In 1972, rice output in the liberated areas increased by 8 or even 11.4 per cent as compared with the previous year.

Thousands of mutual aid teams have beet set up, and handicrafts have been developed to meet the needs of the people.

Illiteracy has been basically eradicated in the liberated zone, and latinized transcription has been arranged for 17 dialects.

By 1970, there had been 7,100 schools for some students. Early in 1973, 1,500 more schools were opened.

Twenty films have been produced, five of which have been awarded international prizes.

Over 300 sets of photos have been printed. Two of them have been awarded at international photo exhibitions in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

Besides the professional song and dance ensembles, there is at least one amateur troupe in each village.

From 1969 to 1971, over 1,000 doctors, pharmacists and nurses were turned out. 3 modern polyclinics were built in 1971.

Medical service is available in all villages, and 70 per cent of the districts are now provided with doctors.

In the 5 past months, 250,000 persons in the newly liberated areas have been vaccinated.

At Hanoi's grand meeting, Vice-Premier Nguyen Duy Trinh said :

The formation of the PRG has brilliantly demonstrated the rock-like will of our southern countrymen to exercise their right to be masters of their destiny

A grand meeting was held at Ba Dinh Meeting Hall on the evening of June 4 to celebrate the 4th anniversary of the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

The meeting was jointly sponsored by the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, the Hanoi Administrative Committee, and the Hanoi Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front.

It was attended by representatives of the DRVN National Assembly Standing Committee, the Government, the Central Committee of the VNFF, various political parties, mass organizations, nationalities and religious communities, the Viet Nam People's Army and representatives of the Hanoi population.

Chairman Truong Chinh solemnly opened the commemorative meeting for the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the only genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people.

Then, Vice-Premier Nguyen Duy Trinh delivered the celebration speech.

On behalf of the Government of the DRVN, the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and the 22 million people of the North, Vice-Premier Nguyen Duy Trinh expressed to the PRG, the Advisory Council, the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the kith-and-kin southern countrymen his most cordial sentiments and warmest congratulations.

He said :

The great victory of the patriotic resistance war of our entire people, which ended with the conclusion of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, has further underscored the great significance of this glorious historic day.

The formation, the existence, and the unceasing growth of the PRG of the RSVN have brilliantly demonstrated the rock-like will of our southern countrymen to exercise their right to be masters of their destiny and to oppose the neo-colonialist rule of the US imperialist aggressors ; at the same time, this has proved that the long, hard and heroic struggle waged by our entire people to gain complete independence and freedom for our Fatherland is bound to end in victory, and no force can stand in its way.

The historic process of this struggle since the August Revolution has been one of building, defending and consolidating the revolutionary power of our people...

Trampling upon the Geneva Agreements, and upon the sacred national rights of our people, the US imperialists crudely intervened in the southern part of our country, rigged up a stooge administration in Saigon, and attempted to do away with all the gains of the people's democratic power and to turn South Viet Nam into a new-type colony and a military base of theirs. Overcoming countless difficulties and hardships, our southern countrymen carried out a wonderful "concerted uprising," established their control over many rural areas, founded the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, organized a self-management apparatus exercising the functions of a people's power in the liberated areas. The invasion of South Viet Nam by over half a million US expeditionary troops failed basically to change the situation, and to take back this control from our southern countrymen. As a matter of fact, especially after the generalized offensives and widespread uprisings of Mau than (Spring 1968), the sovereign rights of the South Vietnamese people were established in wide liberated areas, and right in the towns and cities including Saigon. People's revolutionary committees at all echelons from the village to the province were set up. To complete the system of revolutionary power throughout South Viet Nam, the Congress of South Viet Nam people's representatives meeting in June 1969 decided to form the PRG of the RSVN and the Advisory Council of the Government.

On the basis of the Political Programme of the National Front for Liberation, the PRG carried into affect a 12-point programme of action, achieved a broad union of all social strata, political forces, nationalities and religious communities in South Viet Nam, enhanced the sovereign rights of the people with a view to stepping up the patriotic resistance war against US aggression for national liberation ; applied a foreign policy of peace, neutrality, and solidarity with the fraternal and friendly countries, with the peace and justice-loving people around the world in the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

Vice-Premier Nguyen Duy Trinh noted that the correct policy of the PRG had gained strong approval and support at home and abroad. The international prestige of the PRG has risen with every passing day.

Dealing with the prestige and role of the PRG, Vice-Premier Nguyen Duy Trinh stressed :

The signing of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and subsequently the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam have recognized the gains of our people's patriotic resistance war against US aggression and confirmed the decisive role of the PRG of the RSVN in the settlement of the internal matters of South Viet Nam, and its prestige and important position in the international arena. This is a brilliant manifestation of the trend of our times, epoch of collapse of colonialism and neocolonialism, of the rise of the nations to mastership of their destinies. This is a great victory of our people and also a great victory of the common struggle of the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

Turning to the situation and tasks of the Vietnamese people in the new stage, Vice-Premier Nguyen Duy Trinh said :

With regard to the Paris Agreement which constitutes a great victory of our people, the policy of the Government of the DRVN as well as of the RSVN PRG is to strictly respect and scrupulously implement all its provisions and to urge all signatories to do the same.

For the first time in 115 years, our beloved country is rid of foreign occupation troops. Our southern countrymen's urgent aspiration now is to achieve great unity, end hatred, achieve national reconciliation and concord with a view to joining actions to preserve peace, ensure democratic liberties, heal the wounds of war and improve the people's livelihood.

As was stated clearly in their January 28 Appeal, "the National Front for Liberation and the PRG RSVN are ready to cooperate with everybody regardless of their past provided they now favour peace, independence, democracy and national concord. What is important is the feelings of brotherhood of our people and their mutual love as citizens of the same country. Let us join our hands like brothers of the same family, wipe out hatred and suspicion, together build a life of love and happiness."

On the contrary, the serious and systematic violation of the Paris Agreement by the United States and the Saigon administration during these past months shows that they are still obstinately going against the above-mentioned inevitable trend. Pursuing an obsolete policy which has ended in failure, the United States are endeavouring to maintain the Nguyen Van Thieu administration as their tool to carry out US neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam, opposing the realization of the right to genuine self-determination of the South Vietnamese people, manoeuvering to negate the existence of other political forces. They are going so far as to refuse to recognize them to eliminate the PRG, a thing which the US war of aggression has failed to achieve.

The United States did not only cover up, encourage the Saigon administration's acts of violation of the Agreement but also heaped slanders on the Government of the DRVN in order to have a pretext to allow themselves to overtly violate the Agreement and even to threaten to resume the bombing of North Viet Nam. We once again energetically denounce and condemn those arrogant acts, demand that the United States discharge their obligation of clearing the mines and healing the wounds of war in North Viet Nam, stop all encroachments upon the sovereignty and security of the DRVN. We demand that the United States — a signatory of the Paris Agreement — urge the Saigon administration to implement the Agreement and its Protocols, accept and carry out the April 25, 1973 6-point proposal of the PRG. Only by settling the urgent matters in South Viet Nam as mentioned in the PRG's proposal, i.e. cease hostilities, ensure democratic liberties, set free captured and detained civilian personnel, achieve reconciliation and national concord, can basic conditions be created for the settling of the internal affairs of South Viet Nam and the ensuring of the South Vietnamese people's genuine right to self-determination as clearly mentioned in the Agreement.

Vice-Premier Nguyen Duy Trinh reaffirmed that "Viet Nam is one, the Vietnamese nation is one" and outlined the duty of the people in the North toward their countrymen in the South.

Nguyen Van Tien, Head of the Special Representation of the RSVN in DRVN, delivered his speech.

He said :

"The setting up of the RSVN PRG is a brilliant success, a big leap forward in the struggle, long and full of difficulties, waged by the people of South Viet Nam to take their destiny in their hands and resist the neo-colonialist rule of US imperialism.

Relying on the strength of the great bloc of national unity which is consolidating and broadening unceasingly under the glorious banner of national salvation held aloft by the National Front for Liberation, the RSVN PRG has made great efforts in the last four years to promote its great role and power, leading, organizing and mobilizing all patriotic forces in the struggle against US aggression and for national salvation, winning one victory after another that led to the historic victory as we see today.

After stressing that the struggle of the South Vietnamese people has always enjoyed heartfelt assistance from the North, the sympathy and support of their friends in all continents, Nguyen Van Tien said :

On this glorious historic day, allow me, to extend on behalf of the NFL, the PRG and all the South Vietnamese people and combatants, our profound and sincere thank to the National Assembly, the DRVN Government, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, the people and combatants of the blood-sealed North who have fought with self-abnegation, and accepted the biggest sacrifices for their kith-and-kin in the South. Especially, the people and combatants of South Viet Nam pay their deepest homage to Venerated President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the nation, the beloved father of the armed forces of our people.

The speeches of Vice-Premier Nguyen Duy Trinh and Mr Nguyen Van Tien were warmly applauded.

The meeting wound up in the strains of the song "Unity is Strength."

Cambodia

LIBERATION FORCES WIN BIG VICTORIES IN 1972-1973 DRY SEASON

WITHIN the six months of the dry season (from November 1972 to April 1973) the Cambodian liberation forces wiped out and captured 78,700 enemy, according to *AKI*.

They seized 16,650 assorted weapons and 2,300 tons of war equipment, razed to ground 545 posts and barracks, destroyed 386 military vehicles including 97 tanks and armour cars, shot down or damaged 101 aircraft, and sank or badly damaged 261 war vessels and cargo ships. Besides, 160,000 people were freed from the enemy's grip.

Mr NIXON'S HEADACHES

MR Nixon has begun the first year of his second term with many a puzzling problem, both external and internal, which all cropped up rather unexpectedly.

Externally, he had believed that with the ending of the Viet Nam war, the United States would be able to devote the year 1973 to the solving of European problems many of which, and the most crucial ones, it had not been able to settle during the President's first term. But owing to her neo-colonialist policy, America was not in a position to pull out of the Southeast Asian quagmire as the White House ruler would like her to do. In clinging to cliques of US clients in the Indochinese countries, in maintaining them as neo-colonialist tools in the new conjuncture, the Nixon administration has not actually put an end to US "involvement" and the most tragic consequence of this policy is the present predicament of the Americans in Cambodia. The US-installed Phnom Penh administration has been courting ever heavier setbacks in all fronts and becoming more and more rotten politically and shaky economically.

Militarily, the liberation armed forces have been holding the initiative of action in all battlefields, especially along vital communication lines of strategic importance. The Lon Nol troops have been sustaining defeat after defeat, abandoning one position after another, and hostilities have been brought nearer and nearer to the traitors' sanctuary, Phnom Penh. Desertions, disbandments, and anti-war actions have been on the increase inside the Phnom Penh army. On-the-spot observers have agreed that final defeat is still kept some way from this heterogeneous, unwilling-to-fight army only thanks to massive intervention by US air force, including B.52's. Contrary to bombastic declarations on the "Nixon doctrine," the USA has been getting involved even deeper in Cambodia and therefore bogged down even more dangerously there. A fact hitherto uncommon is that it is not only involved in Cambodia militarily but also in almost daily clashes between rival clans jockeying for positions. It has moreover had to tackle with the problem of supply, almost daily, by resorting sometimes to airlifts to ensure the survival of its agents' army and administration in Phnom Penh. As a matter of fact, the Nixon administration has been landed into a serious quagmire and confronted with a prospective total collapse of its henchmen in Cambodia.

On the home front, the administration's adventurist war escalation has stirred deep concern in Congress and among the people at large, since there now exists a risk of US involvement in a new war in Indochina whose future is not promising at all. Indicative of this concern has been the increasing amount of criticisms, which become more and more violent within Congress, and the successive passage of bills to stay the bellicose hands of the US President. Remarkably enough, the House of Representatives, up to now so docile in tailing after the administration's policy in the Indochina war, has decided to cut all expenditures for the bombing in Cambodia. The *New York Times* in its May 20, 1973 issue commented that Mr Nixon and his top advisers on foreign policy had received an unmistakable warning that time would soon begone when the President could, without consulting Congress, drive the nation into a war in Indochina or elsewhere in the world.

Again on the home front, Mr Nixon has promised his people a "great" year in economic development and improved well-being. But relevant news of the beginning of this year has been all bad news.

Inflation has been galloping at the highest speed in 20 years. According to the US Department of Labour, from February to April, the cost of living rose at the yearly rate of 9.2 percent, i.e. four times the administration's estimate (2.5 percent).

The general feeling of American labourers and tax payers at the beginning of the year has been one of insecurity. One of the greatest absurdities is that while pocketing fat profits, capitalist firms nevertheless have no illusion about the prospect of the President—promised "great" future. Early in May, economists of the Chase Manhattan Bank made this remark: People with low, fixed incomes will be confronted with difficulties, the dollar will go through new vicissitudes in the international arena, investments with a speculative character, and hoarding will be increased.

The Watergate political scandal erupted in the midst of this atmosphere of insecurity and this bugging business which occurred ten months ago has given rise to a feeling of deep despair among the Americans. This comment by Democratic Senator Mike Mansfield seemed to be no exaggeration: The Watergate political calamity combined with economic instability has produced a dual crisis: a crisis of morality and a crisis of credibility.

With the passage of time, through denunciations and declarations the American men in the street can realize the poor morality of their rulers on the top echelon. Organs entrusted with the task of seeing to the administration of justice are involved in dirty affairs, and in covering them up once they are discovered. The whole scandal has been bared in its ugliest colours and taking on unimaginable proportions. At first the guilty were only operatives at a low echelon, then it has been discovered that the principals of the coup were the White House bosses themselves. This has prompted this question: Was the Chief Executive unaware of, and has he not had any part in, this dirty business? That such a question is asked is in itself something very hard on a leader. Even though no evidence has so far been found, half of the people interviewed by a pollster believed that their President was actually involved in the affair. In other words the Americans no longer give much credence to ethics and pledges of Mr Nixon.

Everything has its causes. The Watergate scandal as well as economic instability and so many other baffling problems are no accidental calamities. They are rather the logical outcome of the policies of imperialism, and sooner or later this has to surface. To take the nation and people onto an erroneous path of aggression against foreign countries, the US rulers have no other alternative than recourse to objectionable methods, telling lies to the people, cracking down upon progressives, etc. just to stamp out the opposition at home. In order to rule in this hostile atmosphere, they have to indulge in spying, slanders, divisive activities, bribery — all immoral practices.

And now those intrigues have been exposed; after the "Pentagon papers" affair comes the Watergate bugging which has thrown light on dubious fund-raising campaigns, on no less dubious uses of secret funds, on manœuvres to hush up uncovered affairs, and on what else?

It is now clear that the policy of aggression and war followed by the most powerful imperialistic State in the world has not only made the people at home pay a very high price for it — tens of thousands of human lives senselessly sacrificed and dissensions among the people and economic morass — it has also resulted in the erosion of the very institutions of the regime, which is much more disastrous than the discharge or dimmed image, of a President.

VAN DUC

Here and There

LOAVES AND FISHES

It's time to pension Dick off.

This seems to have been intimated by Martha Mitchell, then by Ralph Nader and other personalities, after the disclosure of the Watergate bugging. As public mood is more and more inclined to believe in the US President's responsibility, rumour has it that he himself is contemplating the possibility of resigning. *AFP* traced it to Western monetary circles, where the position of the dollar further worsened on May 15, largely due to the scandal. Expectedly, the White House issued on the same day a "flat denial."

Thereupon, in a press conference on May 16, Senator H. Percy said: If it is established that a president is guilty of treason or of another grave offence, he must be dismissed *(AFP)*. He was the third Republican legistator to refer to the possible removal of Nixon since the outburst of Watergate. Martha Mitchell again declared in a press conference on May 18 that if Nixon did not want to resign, he should be impeached *(UPI)* The Americans for Democratic Action, representative of the left wing of the Democratic Party rejected on May 19 the proposals suggesting only a "censure" and voted for his resignation *(AP)*. S. Rosenman, a 77 year-old lawyer and former special advisor to President Roosevelt, proposed on the same day to the Democratic Party and other American political set-ups to file a suit for the cancellation of the returns of the 1972 presidential election, as invalid because of fraud. He held that the disappointment of the people with the White House had started since the end of John Kennedy's tenure of office and went on during the Johnson administration, as a result of the lies on the Viet Nam war, and was carried to new heights by Nixon *(Reuter)*. *Le Monde* Washington correspondent Michel Tatu wrote in the second part of his story on Watergate (May 17) that the rejection of proceedings for "dismissal" against Nixon would be impossible if his responsibility for the illegal moves could be undeniably proved.

According to *UPI*, up to May 18 only, there had been nearly 100 Congressmen favouring impeachment action against the Chief Executive.

Faced with such an alarming situation, the White House was forced on May 22 to release a new statement of more than 4,000 words half admitting and half denying its responsibility for Watergate and trying hard to make believe that Nixon was not aware of it. Tricky Dick consequently persisted in asserting that while he would not shirk his responsibility, he would continue to do the job he had been elected for *(UPI)*.

This recalls to mind a couple of verses by our woman poet Ho Xuan Huong:

You who are of ill temperament
Beware of loaves and fishes!

CONJUROR'S TRICKS

Fancy Mr Thieu is trying his hand doing conjuror's tricks. With a lot of hot air, incommensurable awkwardness and unparalleled cheekiness. As a matter of fact, he had been ever since denying the existence of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government but the latter turned up at the Paris Conference and imposed their weekly presence on it for nearly five years before the signing of the Paris Agreement and since then more frequently on the numerous meetings of the various Joint Commissions of the two and four parties and of the Consultative Conference of the two South Vietnamese parties.

He was therefore forced to discontinue his antics. But there are more than one trick up his sleeves: he is now trying to conjure away the third force.

This has triggered off an uproar in Saigon: Many opposition, Buddhist, Catholic, Caodaist personalities, ex-generals of the Saigon army and Saigonese papers persistingly urge him to recognize the existence of the third force who takes side with neither of the confronting parties. Insisting on the necessity of free enjoyment of the right to self-determination, they require the strict implementation of the Paris Agreement, immediate enforcement, in consequence and in the first instance, of democratic liberties, release of all political prisoners, etc.

Outcries are also thundering in Paris. The Committee of Liaison of the South Viet Nam Centrist Forces, represented by Messrs Nguyen Huu Chau and Ho Thong Minh, former ministers of the Saigon regime acclaimed in its May 9 statement the good will of the PRG apparent in its 6-point offer as "the expression of an advance in the search of modalities suitable to the reasonable settlement of political problems in a truly democratic spirit." Flaying the Thieu administration's attitude, it wrote: "Clearly the refusal of the Saigon administration to recognize the existence of a third force is not only aimed at preventing the political forces of this tendency from doing their bits in the consolidation of peace and achievement of the people's right to self-determination but also at strengthening the military regime now ruling in Saigon. It is a flagrant breach of Article 14 of the Paris Agreement which stipulates that South Viet Nam will pursue a foreign policy of peace and independence."

ANOTHER THIEU'S BRAZEN PRESUMPTION

Thieu also says: "No political prisoners in South Viet Nam." He has said it here and there, in Rome, in the FGR, and especially on the CBS TV in the US. He has even invited anyone who feels like to South Viet Nam to see for himself.

Some have accepted to came. The latest were the delegation of the International Commission for the Release of Political Prisoners in South Viet Nam (from Canada). After a stay in Saigon (from April 19 to May 1) it published a report giving the lie to the dictator's allegation and supplying date to show that his administration was detaining thousands of political prisoners. It bared the regime's moves to dodge their return: transferring them from their political prisoner's status to that of common law offenders, and faking papers certifying that they had been freed while in fact they had been sent to Poulo Condor Island or even dispatched. It produced also unquestionable evidence of brutalities inflicted on inmates and a list of 129 of them whom the delegation ought to have interviewed.

The author of the report, Dr Georges Lebel, professor of law at Quebec University reiterated his accusations in an interview on May 24 with the visiting members of the International Commission in Ottawa. He made known that the Thieu regime is at present holding 57,000 political prisoners, not including thousands of others in custody in many cities.

The same day, Saigon simply pooh-poohed the Canadian LL. D.'s charge with the sempiternal leitmotiv: "No political prisoners in South Viet Nam."

HUONG NAM

Dramatic changes in ARGENTINA

IMPORTANT changes took place late in May in Argentina, the second biggest country in the Western Hemisphere, said reports from Buenos Aires.

The inauguration of President Hector J. Campora, victor in the March 11 election marked the end to the 7-year rule of a military junta. It was attended by 63 foreign delegations including those of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Close to one million inhabitants of the capital city, displaying flags of Argentina, Viet Nam, Cuba and Chile, paraded in the streets in celebration.

In his inaugural speech President Hector J. Campora said his country pursues an independent foreign policy, without imperialist interference, that it would establish relations with all countries in the world, without exception, and would line up with all anti-imperialist movements in the world.

He declared Argentina's solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people, who had conquered great odds in their fight against imperialism and for national liberation. He also criticized OAS part in keeping Latin America in dependence and backwardness.

In the domestic sphere, he declared support for the restriction of "unproductive lands." He also mentioned the demands of certain circles for the nationalization of banks and for a stop to the practice of returning nationalized firms to private citizens. He also promised an amnesty to political prisoners and abolition of undemocratic legislation.

A number of his pledges have already been fulfilled. Thousands of political prisoners including hundreds of urban guerillas have been released. The Congress, meeting on May 27 after seven year of recess, voted unanimously for a law abrogating all repressive decrees of the old regime, including the ones against communism and "subversive activities."

On May 25, the new government announced its decision to establish diplomatic relations with the Republic of Cuba and the German Democratic Republic.

The first gestures of the new government in Argentina are in line with the general trend of our times. They are in the interest of the Argentine people. The electoral sucess of the Front for Justice and Liberation and the subs.quent presidency of Dr. Hector J. Campora were a great gain of the Argentine people's fight against the pro-US reactionary forces at home and for freedom, democracy and social progress. They were also that of the other Latin American peoples and the Third World peoples in general in the consolidation of their political and economic independence. The event, besides, has sealed the doom of the US-made OAS, and the failure of the US policy of using client military regimes to preserve its neo-colonialist rule in the Western Hemisphere and contain the revolutionary movement in that part of the world.

It, however, was just an initial one, and US imperialism and the domestic reactionaries are not likely to reconcile themselves so easily to their setback.

Yet, it is certain that the Argentine people, vigilant and resolute in struggle, will overcome their present difficulties and thwart all schemes and acts of the enemy. They will follow up their initial successes with bigger ones.

DINH BA

CHILE

A judicious and necessary step

THE Chilean Government ordered on May 26 the ban on all activities of the reactionary self-styled "Fatherlandand Freedom Movement."

In virtue of this decision, all its demonstrations and meetings will be prohibited. Every arm-carrying member of the movement will be arrested and put to trial.

Vice Home Minister Daniel Vargara pointed out that the order had been prompted by "illegal and criminal activities designed to overthrow the government by means of a coup d'état and kindle a civil war."

It has been clear to any Chile watcher, subversion had been undertaken right after the People' Solidarity Coalition Government came to power. It had mounted countless sabotage actions and fomented disturbances aimed at obstructing the implementation of the Government's national construction program. Taking advantage of the immediate economic difficulties left behind by the former administrations, it incited the backward elements in the working masses to stage anti-government demonstrations, provoke murderous clashes and even secretly assassinate people and then shift the blame on the government, organize strikes, causing great damage to production and the people's life. The demonstration and hurling of incendiary grenades and stones at the presidential palace, the murder of a building worker named Ahumada, the Huerfanos brawl, especially the Roberto Thieme case have been vivid illustrations of their schemes and crimes in the recent period.

"Overthrow Allende is our aim," clamoured Roberto Thieme, Secretary of the "Fatherland and Freedom Movement." In trying to achieve it, Thieme said that "a strike much bigger than the October one will be called." He was reported by his organization as a casualty in a plane crash near Concepcion province in February 73, but a few months later he was arrested by the Medoza provincial authorities (Argentina) for his underground activities. He himself confessed to his plot and deeds aimed at toppling the government, and added: "It is time we firmly held our guns and defended the Fatherland. If liberation is to be had at the price of a civil war, we will pay it." Meanwhile, Pablo Rodriguez, national leader of the "Fatherland and Freedom Movement", on the one hand recognized that Thieme's sham death was a put-up job, and on the other brazenly declared on the TV that "the marxist government must be toppled before 1976."

Public feeling in Chile has been running high against the organisation. Belisario Velasco, National Secretary of the Catholic Democratic Party, said: "No reconciliation with them (the Fatherland and Freedom Movement), and we agree with the government that the law must be fully enforced."

In the circumstances, the Chilean Government's ban on all activities of the "Fatherland and Freedom Movement" was a really judicious and necessary measure to defend the revolutionary administration and gains and meet the Chilean people's requirements and aspirations. There was no other alternative.

NHU NAM

* * in brief

o The preparatory meeting for the Non-Aligned Countries' Summit Conference held in Kabul capital of the Kingdom of Afghanistan from March 13 to 15, 1973 has issued a communiqué saying: "The member countries of the Conference welcome the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam and the Vientiane Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos. The Conference hopes that the said accords will be strictly implemented in their spirit to ensure as soon as possible the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights."

o The Conference of the British Communist Party Executive Committee adopted on May 13 a resolution condemning the US and Saigon administration's violations of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

The continued and strict implementation of the Paris Agreement and its Protocols is a pressing issue. The US, a signatory to the accord, must be prevailed upon to honour the agreement provisions, the resolution said.

o The May 2 Resolution of the Finland Democratic Lawyers' Association voiced support for the world organisation' appeal urging the Saigon administration to immediately release the political prisoners in South Viet Nam. It condemned "the US-abetted Saigon administration leaders' breaches of the Geneva August 12, 1949 and the Anti-Genocide December 9, 1948 Conventions."

o The movement to help the rebuilding of Viet Nam has been gaining momentum in many countries:

— In Czechoslovakia, several enterprises, factories, co-operatives, public organs and schools have been taking an active part in the movement of socialist labour, of donation of wages and money collection for the purpose.

Recently, the Czechoslovak Central Council of Trade Unions has presented to the Viet Nam Confederation of Trade Unions 10 tons of textiles and woollen and cotton goods, worth 1,500,000 crowns.

— Benefit performances for the erection of the Hanoi Pioneers' Palace were given on the night of May 17 at the Moscovite Pioneers Palace. The Soviet children also showed their sympathy for their Vietnamese friends in various forms: telling stories of heroic Vietnamese children and people, displaying Vietnamese pictures by Soviet children, collecting school implements, toys, medicines, clothes, bicycles, etc. for them.

— The money collection campaign for Viet Nam in Denmark has been winning warm response from youth organisations, the national organisations of young apprentices and workers and a number of Danish student bodies.

Up to now, the Denmark youths have collected 90,000 kroners for the building of a hospital for Vietnamese children.

— The Finland Democratic Women's Union has recently launched a money collection drive for Viet Nam. Women leaders of the Communist Party, the Social Democrat Party, the Christian Labour Socialist Party, the Central Party, the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party took turns staging money collections in front of the Stockman General Deparment Store, the biggest in Helsinki.

— In preparation for the 10th World Youth and Student Festival to be held in Berlin, the Belgian communist youths have been pushing up a money collection drive to help build a hospital for Vietnamese children. In the past few weeks. the Flemish Communist Youth League in Belgium have gathered 22,000 francs.

— The municipal council of Celle Saint Denis in France has recently donated to Viet Nam 500,000 new francs for the construction of a school in Hanoi.

— A group of writers and doctors in West Germany and 3 national trade-union organisations in Italy have issued appeals for donation to the "Support Viet Nam" fund.

SOUTH VIET NAM — CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION